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ADVICE
TO, AND
CONSIDERATIONS
FOR
*The ELECTORS of Members to serve in
the ensuing Parliament.*
WITH
EXTRACTS for the Service of
such as reside in the Country.



ADVICE

TO, AND

Considerations

FOR THE

ELECTORS

Of Members to serve in the
ensuing Parliament.

WITH

EXTRACTS for the better In-
formation of such as reside in
the Country.

The Second Edition.

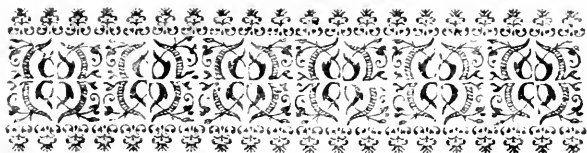
The Part we have acted in the Conduct of *The Late Peace*, with Reference to our Allies abroad, and to a prevailing Faction at Home, is what I shall now particular examine; where I presume it will appear by plain Matters of Fact, that no Nation was ever so scandalously abused by the Folly, the Temerity, the Corruption, the Ambition of its Domestick Enemies; or treated with so much Insolence, Injustice and Ingratitude by its (New) foreign Friends.

Conduct of the Allies.

L O N D O N:

Printed, and Sold by R. BURLEIGH, in Amen-Corner:
1715. Price 6 d.





THE PREFACE.



Am very sensible there are several Pieces lately published of this Nature, which may be thought more conducive to the End designed, than this; therefore I think my self obliged to say something, why I offer it to the Publick.

I take it for granted, that the main Body of the People are for the Good of their Country; the Honour, Safety, Welfare and Happiness of it, which ought to be supported and maintain'd by those Gentlemen we appoint as the most proper for that End, in our Choice of them for Members of Parliament; therefore we ought to chuse such who have distinguished themselves in promoting the Interest of their Country, and avoid those who have committed any Action, or are of a Disposition whose Tendency is fatal thereto.

But having resided for about two Years past mostly in the Country, I observe that the greater Part are very little acquainted with the Transactions of this Kingdom for some Years past, but especially the Publick Affairs in Parliament; nor endeavour to inform themselves of them, but take things in general, as delivered down by some Chief of the Party, they like or dislike, not upon the Foundation of Reason, but Prejudice.

The

The PREFACE.

The late Books published on this Occasion, being mostly written in general Terms, will be of little Service, by reason they will be accepted no otherwise than as being writ for this or the Party; I have therefore rather instanced particular Facts than made use of many arguments in the following Sheets, because I am apt to believe, when my Countrymen shall find such things to have been transacted, and know by whom we were reduced to the Brink of Destruction, from the highest Pitch of Glory and Success; who gave away all when we might have received what we would have demanded; they will with the greatest Horror avoid these Enemies to their Country, and chuse such alone, who can retrieve our Affairs, and raise the Nation to that Glory from which it fell by the Treachery of Men corrupted to betray us and our Posterity to France.

I have added some Extracts which demonstrate these Facts and the Sense which true Patriots, concerned for the Interest of these Kingdoms, had of them at the time they were acted; and shall conclude, for Reasons must occur to the Reader, with the following from a Book entitl'd, The Barrier Treaty Vindicated, p. 10 and 11. Printed 1712.

“ Since therefore no Question can be made, but that the Pretender, wherever he removes, will always be supported by France, and that that Crown will by the Terms of Peace be in a better Condition to do it, than even at the Time when these Promises first were made, and since nothing but Power is a reasonable Security against Power, it might justly have been thought an unpardonable Omission in the late Ministry, had they not opposed a foreign Alliance against a foreign Enemy, and provided a Ballance of Power in Support of the Protestant Succession, equal to that which is engaged in its Disturbance.

“ Were the Succession either not disputed, or the Disputer of it not upheld by a foreign Power, or England alone a Match for that Power; were she, in the Style of a late self-sufficient Writer, able to defend her self against all Her Majesty's Enemies and Allies put together, then indeed it wou'd betray an unnecessary Fear to trouble our selves about forming foreign Alliances on this, or any other Occasion.

The P R E F A C E.

“ But that this is far enough from being the Case, our
“ new Politicians are forward enough to own, when it
“ serves their Purpose. It is not unpleasant to observe them
“ contradicting themselves; to hear them gravely doubting
“ whether they shou’d end one War out of Necessi-
“ ty, or begin another out of Wantonness: If the sup-
“ posed Pride and Stubborness of a few *Dutch* Provinces
“ is to be chastised; then *Great-Britain* is set forth with
“ her Shield and Spear, and all the Emblems of her
“ Greatness are displayed; then her Successes can be re-
“ membred, her Riches confessed, her Power magnified;
“ alone she conquers Provinces, and reduces Kingdoms,
“ and threatens to cope with Friend and Enemy. But
“ is an ill Peace to be forc’d upon her, immediately the
“ very same Hands fall to work to strip her of all her
“ Grandeur, both imaginary and real: She is made to
“ confess Wants she never felt, and Weaknesses she was
“ never guilty of: All on a sudden she is dispeopled by
“ War, impoverished by Taxes, eaten up by Debts:
“ overspread with Profaness, torn in Pieces with Faction,
“ imposed upon by foreign Friends, and plundered by do-
“ mestick Enemies. This is the Dress in which she is made
“ to believe it will best become her to supplicate for Peace,
“ This is the moving Figure by which she is to soften
“ that obdurate Enemy, whom her many Successes have
“ not yet been able to compel to Reason: Since hum-
“ bling him proves a Work of Labour and Difficulty,
“ the shorter and cheaper Way, she is told, is to humble
“ he self; to cancel her past Successes by Inaction; to
“ expiate her Zeal in forming Alliances, by abandoning
“ her Allies; and her Forwardness in pushing the
“ War, by yielding up the most valuable Fruits of her
“ Victories.

N. B. *The Book from which I have taken the above, fully vindicates the noble Lord that negotiated the Treaty, and the Lords of the Council who advised the Ratification of it; which was contrived for enabling Great-Britain to hold the Ballance of Europe; and for securing to her not the Name and Shadow, but the solid Blessings of a safe and lasting Peace:*
But

The P R E F A C E.

But because such uncommon Industry was used to draw the Nation into a Belief that their Trade was not only neglected, but sacrificed in this Treaty, I would recommend my Countrymen to read this Book, where they will find, that our Trade, as well as our other most valuable Interests, were secured by it in the most effectual manner; and that the House of Austria, the Queen, and the States, when they went into the War, tied themselves from making Peace, till England and Holland should obtain the same Privileges of Trade to all the Spanish Dominions, as both, or either of them had a Right to, whether by Treaties, Agreement, Custom, or any other Way.

All Persons that have lived in Spain, know that the Subjects of Great-Britain have not in Fact been any ways distinguished in their Commerce more, nor by any Treaty, Custom, or Prescription, enjoyed greater Privileges of Trade, than the Dutch; and will likewise find on Examination, that (notwithstanding the Clamours 4 Years ago on this Head) the Dutch have all the Privileges of Trade to all the Spanish Dominions granted them by King Philip, that they ever enjoyed, or any Nation has in Spain; which tho' we would not guarantee, when the Doing of it was reciprocal, the French King did it, as may be seen by the Treaty of Peace between France and Holland: Therefore the violent Anger of the Faction against this Treaty, seems to have been, that it not only prevented any future Attempts from abroad, in favour of the Pretender, by supporting the Protestant Interest in general, and securing the Protestant Succession in particular; but likewise obstructed the Design of an ill Peace; for by this Treaty, Spain and the Indies could not have been given up to the Duke of Anjou, Grandson to the French King; and therefore, right or wrong, it was to be damned.

Can Brit ns think such Men deserving the Trust of representing them in Parliament; or that they were heartily in the Interest of the Protestant Succession; who voted my Lord Townshend that made, and the Lords of the Council that advised the Ratification of the Barrier Treaty between Great-Britain and the States General, Enemies to Her Majesty, and Her Kingdoms?

A D V I C E



ADVICE

TO, AND

CONSIDERATIONS

FOR

*The ELECTORS of Members to serve in
the ensuing Parliament.*

AS to your present Election, see that you do not fatally lose your selves by your own Choice, but shew a due Regard to God's Providence, and be careful to fix to Men you know to be steady and well affected to the Government, who are able, and bold to serve you in promoting the present Establishment. Betray not the common interest of your Country, by a base Election: Let not the Remembrance of private Favours from a Neighbour, Money or

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Treat-

Treating influence your Choice: Use your Freedom, and be not soothed or bribed about that, which in our Constitution is the greatest Bulwark of the ancient Liberties.

Seriously weigh, and regard these following Particulars. Consider who have served you with Fidelity and Courage, and the Principles of those Men who withstood the arbitrary and violent Attempts in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*, and were in those Days for putting a Stop to the Designs of the *French* King on the Liberties of *Europe*.

Consider and make not Choice of those Persons that were against the Settlement of the Crowns on the immortal King *William*, and in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, and have maintained and abetted such Notions (before and since *Sacheverell's* seditious Sermon at *St. Paul's*) as Hereditary, Indefeasible, Unalienable Right, who one may charitably believe Enemies to His present Majesty King *George's* Title.

Consider who are the Men in the several Parts of this Kingdom, that entertained and cryed up (after the infamous Doctor had bellowed it) *The Danger of the Church*. By this popular and groundless Cry of the Church, the Nation became infatuated; by this fatal Prepossession the Persons that were taken soon upon it into Her late Majesty's Trust, and became Her Ministers, not only put an End to the most noble and formidable Alliance, but by the Treaties of Peace and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*, gave up all the Fruits of our Victories, and sacrificed the Trade and Navigation, and consequently the Interest of *Great-Britain*, to the House of *Bourbon*.

Consider who were the Persons, and make not Choice of such whom 'twas impossible to make believe, without the Help of the Clergy, that when Men called *Whigs* were not in Power, anything could be in Danger: Whereas, to mention only some Particulars, our Trade was given up, our Allies abandoned, the most important Article never intentionally performed, Men listed in this Kingdom and *Ireland*, for the Service of the Pretender, and the House of *Bourbon* made more formidable, and fairer for an universal Monarchy, and to engross the whole Trade of *Europe*, than even before the War.

Consider who were the Persons in the two last Parliaments, that run into all the Measures of the then Ministry, and by such Means brought upon the Kingdom those Misfortunes it now labours under in its Trade, &c. In one, voted the Peace safe, honourable, and advantageous, before they knew the Terms of it; and in the last did, (notwithstanding the Treaties of Commerce with *France* and *Spain* were declared detrac-

stuctive

structive to the Trade and Manufactures of the Kingdom) the same in order to justify the then Ministers.

Reflect on the Successes of the Allies in the late War against *France*, and the Face of Affairs in the Year 1710, or at the Change of the Ministry, nay in 1711-12, and colour to your selves the Prospect the Allies then had of having not only *Spain* and the *Indies* given up to the House of *Austria*, but from the *French* what Frontier should be asked for the Security of *Flanders* and the Empire; and besides other Advantages to *Great-Britain*, a Renunciation of all Trade to the *Spanish West-*

Then consider if you can be served with Fidelity by such Men, as have not only approved and run into Measures so destructive to the Interest of their Country, but censured all our then Allies, and in a general Representation to the Queen, summed up many great Frauds and Abuses, and Misapplications of Publick Money, (which they pretend to have detected) which Representation consisted either of Falsties, or Mistakes, or Misrepresentations; and that wherever the Fact is true, the same was done in the Time of my Lord *Oxford*, *Bollingbrooke*, *Harcourt's* Ministry, and was either justified, or not animadverted upon by the same Parliament.

Inform your selves who of the Persons that seek your Choice did vote for the Bill for making effectual the 8th and 9th Article of the Treaty of Commerce with *France*; which Bill the chief trading Cities, Towns and Places of *Great-Britain*, petitioned the House of Commons might not pass, as detrimental and destructive to the Trade and Manufacture, Navigation and Riches of the Kingdom.

Consider, that, as by a Trade on the Foot of that Treaty with *France*, the Nation lost upwards of a Million a Year in the Reign of King *Charles II.* so the making effectual those Articles had been certainly (besides destructive of the Manufactures of the Kingdom, whereby Employment is found for the Poor) the Loss of its Trade to *Italy*, *Spain*, and *Portugal*, of the greatest Importance to the Nation, to preserve and encourage.

In your Choice have a Care not only of Temporizers, but Men of fearful Dispositions, who in the Day of your Distress, will abandon good Sense, Truth, and your real Interests, the Good and Prosperity of this Nation in its Interests and Alliances abroad, as well as in its Trade and Manufactures (as 'tis notorious very many in the two last Parliaments did) out of a Dread of the Displeasure of some great Men.

Fling not your Choice upon Persecutors; such Men there are still amongst you: For tho' the Meetings of Dissenters are become as legal as those in your Churches, yet Men may be Persecutors though they are not able to persecute any longer, according to our Saviour's charging the Guilt of intended Sins on those who never acted them: But cast your Votes upon Men of large Principles, such as would not sacrifice their Neighbours to the Forwardness of their own Party in Religion; such as will inviolably maintain Civil Rights for all that live soberly and regularly under the present Government.

Choose sincere Protestants; Men who are pleased with, and thankful to God for our Deliverance at the Revolution, from arbitrary Power and Popery, and for His present Majesty King *George's* seasonable and quiet Accession to the Throne; such Men who with Churchmen would be less severe, and Dissenters less scrupulous; Men who have zealously and boldly, in despite of Dangers, applied themselves to oppose the Popish Interest in this Kingdom, and the *French* Designs upon the Liberty of *Europe*.

Seriously weigh and regard these farther Particulars.

Tho' the Debts to the Navy, Victualling, and other Services unprovided for, and Deficiencies of Money given yearly for the several Services, remain no longer on the Heads of such Services; yet they are not paid, but the Nation indebted those several Sums as much as before the erecting the South-Sea Company; and that there is paid the said Company for Interest, 500000 *l.* yearly, notwithstanding what has been said of paying such of the Nation's Debts without one Penny Charge to the People.

The Debt owing to the South-Sea Company arose thus in all publick Offices before the Administration complained of, or before *Michaelmas* 1702, 2897529 *l.* 19 4 4-3, during that Administration, or from *Michaelmas* 1702, to *Michaelmas* 1710, 3864150 *l.* 19, 2 1-2. The Residue that makes up the capital Stock of the South-Sea Company, 9471325 *l.* 8. was for Interest of the Debts made Principal to, and Monies given for the Service of the Year 1711, &c. On Examination this will be found the State of the Case; and that the Extra Services, (such as Rebuilding Men of War lost in the great Storm, Bounty Money to Widows and Officers, &c. for which no Provision was made by Parliament) together with what was received short of what was given, by means of Deficiencies of the Fund, the Balance of the Debt that was incurred from *Michaelmas* 1702, to *Michaelmas* 1710, was not greater than the Sum of 5474 *l.* 13, 11, 1-4.

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But including of these Extra Services, as the whole Debt incurred in eight Years does not exceed 3864150 *l.* 19, 2, 1-2. so it appears from authentick Accounts, that the Deficiency of the Funds in that time amounted to 1557540 *l.* 12, 9, 1-4, which reduces the Debt contracted in eight Years by the *Whig* Ministry, to 2306610 *l.* 6, 5, 4-1, which is not 300000 *l.* a Year, one Year with another; and he that thinks it a great Mismanagement to incur a Debt of about 300000 *l.* *per Annum*, in all publick Offices, will wonder to find since, one Year's Debt in the Navy only amounting to double that Sum, as appears by the Estimate of the Debt of the Navy at *Michaelmas* 1711, given into Parliament.

This Exceeding of above 600000 *l.* in one Year's Debt of the Navy only, will seem a little more extraordinary, if it be considered that the Supplies for the Year 1711, did far exceed the Supply of any one Year during the War; which will be found true, if compared with any of the Years of the highest Expence; and still more so, if we may be allowed to take a Medium of the eight Years for one Year's Expence. The Supplies of the eight Years concerned in this Question, amounted to 42754020 *l.* 6, 34, which at a Medium of the Whole for one Year, is 5340250 *l.* 12, 7: And this compared with 7191350 *l.* 5, 8. which was granted for 1711, will soon shew that the Shortness of the Supplies was not the Occasion that the Exceedings of 1711 were greater than former Years, that had undergone such severe Censures from the very same Parliament.

As for any extraordinary Services performed in the Year 1711, beyond all former Years, I know of none but that notable Expedition to *Canada*, and am not concerned whether the undertaking a Project that had been before concerted, and rejected as impracticable, or the Success that attended it, is to justify so extraordinary an Expence to the Nation. Sure I am that the House of Commons, who thought the Burthen of the Taxes intolerable, and that the deplorable Circumstances of the Nation made almost any Peace desirable, raised and levied more Money upon the Subject in two Years, in which nothing at all was done, than was raised in any two of the most glorious and successful Years of the War; such Sums, as if they had been applied to a vigorous Prosecution of the War, without such melancholy and reproachful Interruptions as we have seen, had procured us indeed a safe, lasting, and honourable
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Every Body can't but remember to what a Degtée (upon the Change of the Ministry 1710) Stocks fell at once; and this nothing, no not Peace it self, was able to raise them to their former Value, until His Majesty King *George's* most happy and seasonable Accession to the Throne. What then could be meant by saying that the last Ministry rais'd Credit, I am still at a Loss to know, unless it can be said, they raised it by making all Exchequer Bills Specie Bills, which was thus: There was a very great Discount upon *Non-Specie Bills*, occasioned by the Change of Hands, 1710; whereupon the Parliament granted 45000 *l. per Annum*, for Circulating Exchequer Bills, and making all Bills Specie Bills; and by that Means indeed they did reduce the great Discount they had brought upon them; and for 45000 *l. per Annum*, did restore Credit in the single Instance of Exchequer Bills.

I must not forget the raising 500000 *l.* to pay the Debts of the Civil List, which 'tis notorious, and every Officer of the Household can justify this Truth, that the Arrears were at least double, when the Money was raised (*July 1713*) to what they were at the Change of the Ministry 1710. 'Tis very well known that there was issued in the first eight Years of Her late Majesty's Reign, out of the Civil List Funds, to the Use of the War, above 500000 *l.* which very easily accounts for the Debt in that time. No doubt there were large and very extraordinary Issues made after; I do not suppose for the Service of the War, perhaps for obtaining and justifying the wonderful Treaties of Peace and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*.

As the Sum granted was double the Debt of the Civil List, at the Change of the Ministry 1710, had an Account been laid before the Parliament, (which was moved for, but carried in the Negative) it would have appeared not only in Reality what the Queen owed, but was in Hand, or received on the Civil List Funds, towards Discharge of the Debt at the Change 1710, and at the time of raising the 500000 *l.* 'Twas certainly a most dangerous Precedent, to mortgage the Funds that were settled for Support of the Civil Lists, which by Degrees might have been so far engaged, and granted away, that a Land or Malt Tax must have been made at last an hereditary Revenue for Support of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown.

Without the Concurrence of Parliament, many things that have been transacted, neither could or durst have been done, nor had the Nation been plunged into such inextricable Difficulties, especially as to its Trade and Manufactures, &c. And notwithstanding the Clamours by some Men when out of Place,

Place, against the Ways of raising Money before 1710, those since have been much harder, and more grievous to the Subject, and detrimental to the Nation; such as settling the general Mortgage, &c. after 1716, to pay Interest to the South Sea Company to Perpetuity, loading Leather, Soap, Candles, &c. with excessive Duties.

As the Treaty of Commerce with *France* was not rendered effectual by the Parliament, being found detrimental and destructive to the Manufactures and Trade of the Kingdom, so the Treaty of Commerce with *Spain* has put the Trade of *Great-Britain* to that Kingdom, under greater Disadvantages than ever before; for it takes from the Factors, or *English* Merchants living there, their ancient Privilege of a Judge, Conservator, and Security for Trading; and as all our Merchants that have lived in, and been Traders to *Spain*, unanimously agree, must ruin, or put an End to any Trade that might have been expected (as Peace) to that Kingdom.

As to *Port-Mahon* and *Gibraltar* being left in the Possession of *Great-Britain*, they will be a constant Charge to the Nation, and the Consequences and Advantages arising from them are only in Case of a War with *France*, *Spain*, and other Nations; a precarious Security to our Trade into the *Levant* and *Mediterranean*! And it will not be said, the Trade of *Great-Britain*, particularly of *London*, is secured (as in Case of a War with *France*, it was believed it would) by having the Harbour of *Dunkirk* demolished; since in Defiance of the late Treaty, and the Remonstrances of our gracious Sovereign, *France* continues the making a Port, that will prove infinitely more prejudicial to our Trade, than the old Harbour of *Dunkirk*.

Mr. *Steele* says in his *Apology*, he has mentioned *Dunkirk* till he is sick; and that there are no Words to represent the infamous Behaviour in a Ministry, to cover so great and pernicious an Imposture upon their Country, as the Improvement of that Port, under the Pretence of the Demolition of it: And as I must think this valuable Person occasioned the first Beginning the Demolition when they did; so he alarmed all sober Men, and Lovers of their Country, in respect to the Protestant Succession, which is evident, not many Months ago was in great Danger, by Her Majesty's issuing a Proclamation, &c. and from what follows in an Act of Parliament, entitled, *An Act for the better Support of Her Majesty's Household, and of the Honour and Dignity of the Crown of Great-Britain*, viz. That Her late Majesty being fully convinced of the imminent Dangers which threatened the Kingdom, and the Pro-

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testant Succession in the House of *Hanover*, as well as from a just Resentment of the Indignities offer'd to Her said Majesty by the Pretender's remaining in *Lorain*, in Defiance of Her repeated Instances for his Removal, and of the treasonable Practices committed by insisting Her said late Majesty's Subjects in the Service of the Pretender, was pleased, &c.

As to *Newfoundland*, *Great-Britain* has the Charge of Maintaining the Forts and Garrisons, and the *French* Liberty of Fishing, and erecting Stages thereupon for drying their Fish; and besides, have given them the Island of *Cape Breton*, without any such Liberty reserved for *Englishmen*. By this Island being given the *French*, the Inhabitants of *New-England* are excluded from a Fishery they had Recourse to, and flattered themselves to have amply enjoyed upon a Peace, and the *French* are enabled to be at Market with their Fish to *Spain*, *Portugal* and *Italy*, six Weeks sooner than we can from *Newfoundland*.

As the *French* (not to mention all their Advantages by having the Island of *Cape Breton*) are situated to annoy, and intercept our Fishery on the Banks of *Newfoundland*, and Trade to our northern Colonies; so by the Fishery on the Coast of *Cape Breton*, and the Liberty of Fishing, Drying, &c. at *Newfoundland*, the Mitchiefs attending us from the Advantages accruing thereby to *France*, do still remain; and among other Particulars, a Rivalship of us in our Trade with Fish, to *Spain*, *Portugal*, &c. and a Nursery for a Breed of Seamen.

It has been industriously spread among the People, of mighty Advantages accruing to the Kingdom by Trade into the South Seas, and Places not traded to before: Now we see it was only to amuse and blind, since the South-Sea Company are by Acceptance of the *Assiento* Contract, precluded from trading thither themselves, and are only permitted to trade on the Foot of the Contract, which though likewise given out as a national Advantage never before reaped, is no more than what the Nation has enjoyed for many Years past, with greater Advantage than can by the *Assiento* Contract, by a Trade from the Island of *Jamaica*, which this puts an End to.

The Act for incorporating the South-Sea Company, trading into the South Seas, (by trading whither Employment was to be found for the Poor, and Vent for the Manufactures of the Kingdom) excludes all His Majesty's Subjects from trading thither, but the said Company; and the South-Sea Company, by Acceptance of that *Assiento* Contract, are excluded themselves,

selves, whereby the finding Employment for the Poor, and vending our Manufacture, is at an End, and the *French* left to enjoy the Trade into the South Seas more advantageously by *Great-Britain's* having excluded it self.

By none of these Treaties are the *French* excluded from sending Ships into the *Spanish West Indies*, on Trade, or any other Pretence whatsoever, as required, and agreed to at *Gertruydenberg*, where the Duke of *Marlborough* and Lord *Townshend* were Plenipotentiaries; and in Consideration that the *French* preserved King *Philip* on the Throne of *Spain*, it can't be thought otherwise, than that they will be the People most favoured by him in Trade.

When the Treaty of *Gertruydenberg* was on Foot, the then Ministry had it motioned to, and it was intended by them, that the *French* should deliver up to the *Spaniards*, the Share they possessed of *Hispaniola*; but as nothing was done herein, not only the Island of *Jamaica* is in Danger, but the whole Sugar Trade of this Kingdom; the Consequence of which must be attended with the Loss of a considerable Trade to these Kingdoms, it may be computed one Way or other near Three Millions *per Annum*, which must bring Ruine to many Thousand Families in the Plantations, and many more in these Dominions.

As the *French* by their Settlements in their Islands in *America*, especially *Hispaniola*, will endanger the Sugar Trade of this Kingdom; so thereby, and by their Settlement of the Country granted by the *French* King to the *Sieur Crozat*, not to mention their Settlements in the South Seas, the *French* will not only become Masters when they please, of the Navigation from our Island of *Jamaica*, the *Spanish* Ports of *Cartagena*, *Portobello*, *La vera Crus*, *Havana*, &c. to *Europe*, &c. but probably in a few Years Masters of that Island, and the *Spanish West Indies*, and consequently the Trade and Riches of the World.

The Consequences of the *French* growing Power in *America*, and the Increase of their Settlements on *Hispaniola*, especially the Danger thereof to *Jamaica*, and the Sugar Trade, was timely foreseen, and taken Notice of; and as the King of *France* did become a Suitor to *Great-Britain* for Peace, and acknowledged he owed his Kingdom to the Suspension of the *British* Arms, 'tis presumed might have been prevented, had it been demanded, and insisted upon at a proper time for the *French* to have restored to the *Spaniards* the Share they possessed of the Island of *Hispaniola*.

'Tis by our Sugar Islands and Tobacco Colonies, that we chiefly have such a Ballance of Trade on our Side with *Holland*, *Hamburg*, &c. and from our *Newfoundland* Fishery, very great Sums have been annually brought from *Spain*, *Portugal*, and *Italy*, into this Kingdom; for our other Colonies in *America*, as *New-England*, *New-York*, &c. being chiefly dependant on our Sugar Settlements to take off their Product, and having not wherewithal to answer their Exports to them from *Great-Britain*, are only valuable as they bear Relation to such Colonies as are furnished by them, which must cease on the Decay of Trade from whence it arises.

It has been long since remarked, that our Breed of Seamen, with the Increase and Encouragement of the Navigation of this Kingdom, does chiefly depend on our Plantation Trade, and *Newfoundland* Fishery, therefore their present State and Condition being such as is here and elsewhere publicly and amply represented, must give us a sad Prospect, and deserves the immediate Consideration of our best Patriots, for preventing the Decay, Loss or Destruction of the Trade and maritime Strength of *Great-Britain*.

What is likely to, and must in my Opinion befall *Great-Britain* by the famous Transactions of the Ministers of the last four Years of Her Majesty's Reign, in respect to its Manufactures and Plantations, Trade and Navigation, and consequently its Strength and Riches, I am as unwilling to declare, as concerned to reflect upon: 'Tis notorious its Condition might have been much otherwise than at present, and that it might have been so ordered (by what was agreed at *Gertruydenberg*) as never to have been in the Power of *France* to disturb the Repose of the rest of *Europe*, or to have engross'd (as it seems in all Likelihood *France* will do) the Trade and Riches of the whole World to it self.

I would not criminate particular Persons, but recommend it to you, Electors of Members to serve in Parliament, to review and consider the publick Transactions for some Years past; in so doing, you will observe amongst other things, that as the last eight Years of Her late Majesty's Reign exceeded in Fame, any of our Princes; so the Measures then taken most visibly tended to nothing but confirming a noble Alliance formed to reduce the exorbitant Power of *France*, to rescue *Spain* and the *Isles* from the House of *Bourbon*, and thereby settle a Ballance of Power in *Europe*, to preserve and enlarge the Manufactures and Plantations, Trade and Navigation of this Kingdom, and to secure the Protestant Interest, and in particu-

cular, the Protestant Succession to the Crown of *Great-Britain*. These great Ends were the chief Views of those that served the Queen for the first eight Years of Her Reign, and with what Success they served Her, their worst Enemies do confess.

But after these eight Years, when Her Majesty was pleased to change Hands (in the Year 1710) other Measures were concerted, and pursued; such as entering upon a Peace without Participation of the Allies, contrary to Treaties, ending the War by giving *Spain* and the *Indies* to the House of *Bourbon*, dissolving the Grand Alliance, abandoning our Allies and the poor *Catalans*, giving up every valuable Branch of our Trade, and to perfect all, entering into a strict Friendship with *France*.

Surely your Eyes are opened, and you will resent such intolerable Treatment; and now you find what you were told of other People was utterly false, and all the great Advantages you were made to hope from the Change of the Ministry in 1710, and from the late Treaties of Peace and Commerce with *France* and *Spain*, end in nothing, or what is worse, the Ruine of your Country, you will no longer follow the Dictates of those Persons who have so grossly deluded and abused you in the Trust reposed in them; but on the contrary, appear so bravely spirited, as to slight, and chuse them no more for your Representatives in Parliament, and make Choice of such worthy Persons, that have been Sticklers for, and Maintainers of the Revolution, and have enabled the Crown with its Allies to preserve and maintain the Liberties of *Europe* from the boundless Ambition of the *French King*; that settled and secured the Crown on His present Majesty King *George*, and have on all Occasions encouraged the Trade, and prevented the Ruine and Destruction of the Navigation and Commerce of *Great-Britain*:



EXTRACTS

*For the better Information of such
as Reside in the Country.*

*From a Piece entituled, A short History of the
Parliament. Printed August 1713.*

AS there was nothing, which *Queen, Lords and Commons* in all former Parliaments, and the whole Nation had express'd a greater Zeal and Concern for, than securing *Spain and the West-Indies to the House of Austria*, it had been too gross, at the first opening of this Parliament, to have discover'd the Design of giving them entirely into the Hands of *France*; The Commons therefore are taught to declare, for * *a vigorous Prosecution of the War in all its Parts, and especially in Spain*, for it was not yet Time to take off the Mask and confess that the War was to be ended, let the Consequence be what it would.

Soon after an Account comes of an Action in *Spain*, much to the Disadvantage of King *Charles*, which *Her Majesty* communicates to the Parliament. The Commons, still zealous for the *War in Spain*, think it necessary for *her Majesty* to give Directions † for sending and procuring more Troops to repair this Loss, and not discourag'd by Misfortunes, promise to use their utmost endeavours, to enable *her Majesty* to carry on the just and necessary War, in which She was engag'd; and to support her in such Measures, as on this Occasion shou'd be thought proper to retrieve the Loss in *Spain*. So the War at that Time it seems was

* Commons Address, Nov. 30. 1710.

† Commons Address, Jan. 3. 1710.

just and necessary, and *Spain* at any rate was then thought worth the saving: And yet, methinks, if we had been very much in Earnest, even at that Time, we should have heard of Forces sent from hence, or Foreigners hir'd to repair this Loss; but as the Parliament had never any Curiosity to enquire how far this Address had been comply'd with, I am afraid King *Charles*, from that hour, never found any Effect of this great Zeal for his Service.

However, publick Declarations in his Favour are still thought necessary. Upon the Death of *the Emperor*, to prevent the ill Consequence thereof, * *the Interests of the House of Austria are to be supported, and the utmost endeavours are to be us'd, to promote the Election of the King of Spain to the Empire.* These endeavours are us'd, and prove successful; but who would have thought at that Time, that the *Empire* was to be purchas'd by King *Charles*, at so dear a rate as the loss of the *Crown of Spain*; but so it has happen'd, and the only Argument that has been us'd, for giving *Spain* to King *Philip*, has been to preserve the Ballance of Power in *Europe*, which would otherwise be in Danger from the Conjunction of the *Empire and Spain*; but I dare answer for the Parliament, whatever others might design, they did not in the least foresee this unhappy Consequence: Thus we see thro' the whole Course of this first Session, this Parliament was zealously devoted to the Interest of King *Charles* as King of *Spain*.

Before the next Session, a Project of Peace had been set on Foot, and the World began to suspect, that *Spain* was now to be given up to the *House of Bourbon*, I must do the Parliament that Justice to confess, that this, at first, gave offence to a great many; they knew not very well, how to relish such a direct contradiction to all they had been saying and doing for so many Years past; and with these Sentiments, 'tis very well known, that most Gentlemen came out of the Country, to attend the Second Session of Parliament; but a few Prorogations, some Town Conversation, and a little secret Conviction, brought this matter to a Composition; and in case nothing was said expressly of *Spain*, a General Address, † *full of entire confidence, and satisfaction in the Just and Honourable Peace in view*, which no body then knew one Word of, was agreed to.

This matter then was to be managed a little more tenderly, and the Commons were to be taught a new Lesson. In order to this, a Pamphlet called *the Conduct of the Allies, &c.*

* Commons Address, April 20. 1711.

† Commons Address, Decemb. 3. 1711.

was publish'd, and a great Deal of Industry used, to make this the *Political Creed of the Party*, which all the *Orthodox Friends of France* embrac'd very readily; and in this was to be found the whole Scheme of the Proceeding of that Session. This Master-piece, fill'd with Follies and Misrepresentations, was no sooner dispers'd and canvass'd in the World, but it produc'd the desir'd Effect, affording Arguments, for artful and ill designing Instruments, to prevent and prejudice the Minds of weak and deluded People, and firing others, who had no leisure or opportunity to be better inform'd, with Resentment and Indignation against all the *Allies*, who, they had been made to believe, had dealt so unfaithfully with us; and accordingly Addresses are made in Parliament, * *for Accounts of the Quota's and Proportions of Her Majesty and Her Allies during the War, and how the same have been observed; for all Treaties for raising and augmenting Proportions*, † and whatever else was thought necessary for carrying on the grand Design. These Addresses produce States of the War, prepar'd by those, who had procur'd 'em to be call'd for, and who would not, in all probability, deliver any but such as serv'd their own purpose. Upon the Day appointed to consider of the State of the War, *Eleven Questions* are brought into the House ready pen'd, and all number'd, and put into the Hands of proper Persons, who mov'd them in a very decent order; and without any more Ceremony, the Parliament, in an Hour's Time, judg'd and censur'd the *late Emperor*, the *present Emperor*, the *King of Portugal*, and the *States General*; with all whom it had been so lately declar'd, that a strict Friendship and good Correspondence was above all Things to be cultivated, to render the Peace secure and lasting.

This was a handsom Step for one Day, and a good preparative for what was to follow; but as the giving up *Spain* was the great stumbling Block that was to be remov'd, something more was necessary to be done: Another is appointed for considering the State of the War, and there several Resolutions are made, offer'd in the same Manner, stating the Expence of the War in *Spain*, which is there represented to be most extravagant, and to have cost an immense Sum, and such as the Nation cou'd not any longer possibly endure; by this means the Way is pay'd for giving up *Spain*, and what had been long before agreed to, but conceal'd, was now brought to Maturity, and began publickly to be avow'd and supported.

* *Decemb. 20. 1711.*

† *Jan. 31.*

In a short Time afterwards the Terms of a * general Peace are communicated, wherein the giving up *Spain* and the *Indies*, appears to be almost the only Thing that was fully agreed to and concluded; but the Loyal Commons, full of Indignation against the Allies, and aggrieved with the great Burden of the *Spanish War*, with † *Hearts full of Gratitude for what had already been obtain'd*, which seem'd to be nothing but a *French Renunciation*, want Words to express the Satisfaction, with which they received the good news of a proposal for giving *Spain* to King *Philip*, which was to execute it self.

I have neither Room, nor Time here, to enter into a Justification of the *Allies*, and to shew the Falsties and Misrepresentations of the State of the War in all its Parts. The *States General*, sensible of the Injustice that was done them, represented their Case in a Memorial to the *Queen*, which fully prov'd they were wrongfully charg'd, by the Votes and Resolutions of the House of Commons. This indeed was not to be endur'd, that any Body should dare to undeceive the World; The Memorial therefore is first call'd a * *pretended Memorial* and then Voted a *false, scandalous and malicious Libel*, and Mr. *Buckley Author of the Daily Courant*, who printed it, taken into Custody of the *Serjeant at Arms*. Such consummate Justice all have met with who dar'd to speak unseasonable Truths, either within Doors, or without. The *States General*, I presume, escap'd an express censure, because *Her Majesty* had this Session declar'd * *their Interest inseparable from Her own*, and the Parliament had concurr'd with her in it.

From a Piece entitled, A Letter to a Member
of the October Club, &c. Printed 1711.

S I R,

NINE or ten Years ago I cou'd not but observe, as a Thing very remarkable, the general Disposition of *England* to enter into the War; I am now more surpriz'd at the universal Impatience of all your Party for a Peace.

* June 6. 1711.

† Commons Address, June 6. 1711.

* April 8. 1712.

* Decemb^r 7. 1711.

When

When I look back to the Beginning of this War, and take a View of the State of *Europe* at that Time; *France* against us and by her own native Strength almost a Match for all her Neighbours; the *Milanese*, *Naples*, and the *Spanish Netherlands* in her Possession; the whole *Spanish Monarchy* at her Disposal; the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua* assisting with the whole Forces of their Countries to keep all *Italy* in her Subjection; the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, with the Dukes of *Wolffenbuttle* and the *Hungarian* Malecontents her Allies, embroiling the Empire, and threatening the Imperial Dignity: To oppose this formidable Enemy the whole Force being that of the Emperor, with a Rebellion on each side of his exhausted Countries; that of the *United Provinces* just ready to be overwhelm'd by Inundations of Armys from *France* and the *Spanish Netherlands*; and that of *England* divided by her Partys, and weary'd out by the former War: I say, when I consider this Conjuncture, I cannot but wonder that our Courage did not faint at the very Prospect; and surely nothing cou'd justify our undertaking this new War, but absolute Necessity, and the Apprehension of inevitable Ruin by Peace.

Again, when I remember the little Hopes we had at that Time, I am astonish'd at our Successes, and present Acquisitions. The Duke of *Mantua* quite ruin'd; the Duke of *Savoy* brought over to our Side; the *French* intirely driven out of *Italy*; and great Supplies drawn from hence against the common Enemy. The Duke of *Wolffenbuttle* disarm'd; the Electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* depriv'd of their Dominions; the Rebellion of *Hungary* almost extinguisht; and all *Germany* now at leisure to pursue the common Interest. Besides this, a Part even of *Spain* it-self has revolted, a new War has been kindled in that Country; which, tho more easily supply'd on the Part of *France* than of the Allies, has been hitherto carry'd on with pretty equal Advantage on both Sides. But what is yet more than all the Rest of our Successes, the *French King* is beaten out of the *Spanish Netherlands*; his old Frontier, fortify'd with so much Cost, and so long held impregnable, in so few Years wrested from him; the Way in a manner laid quite open into his own Kingdom, and himself at last reduc'd to the unhappy Choice of either losing *France*, or yielding up the Kingdom of *Spain*.

So many Armys beaten! Such successful Sieges! Such vast Countries recover'd! What wou'd any Man have ask'd more of Almighty God in so short a Time? Or how cou'd the most sanguine Person have expected half so much? It is plain that Providence must have fought on our Side; and yet something

is to be attributed to the Wisdom of that Administration, which was blessed with such unparallel'd Prosperity.

The *French* King himself seems *almost* stupify'd with his Losses. He has been brought twice to sue for Peace; but at the same Time he sues for *Spain* and all her *Indian* Treasures, and would still keep back the *very Thing* we have been so long fighting to recover. The *Torys* are melted with his Tears; they are for complying with his Petition; and would fain persuade us, we may safely give him *Spain* for a Peace.

This is still more astonishing than all the Rest, since by this Concession the *French* King without fighting would in a few Years be enabled to recover all that has been taken from him, and indeed to bring all *Europe* under his Dominion.

I persuade myself, a Person of your excellent understanding cannot want Arguments to set you right in this Matter; and I know your Authority will be very great with all those of your Party, whenever you shall think it necessary to lead them out of their present Error. The Design therefore of this Letter, is to offer as convincing Arguments as I am able, to shew that such a Peace as they so earnestly desire, would be more ruinous to themselves and their Country, than the present War; that at least if they will leap into the Gulf, they may do it with their Eyes open.

The Method I shall take to do this, shall be, by endeavouring to shew the following Particulars; *viz.* That giving *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*, will be giving it to the *French* King: That the latter will be enabled by this Gift to increase his own Security, Riches, and Power; and to distress, impoverish, and weaken all his Neighbours; That *Portugal*, *Brazile* *Peru* and *Mexico* will soon be oblig'd to submit to the *French* Dominion: That we shall be utterly depriv'd of all the most valuable Branches of our Trade: That we shall have no Income or Supplies of Money by any Trade, or from any Country whatsoever: That we shall lose the annual Income of Three Millions and a half, which is gain'd to the Kingdom by Trade even during the present War, and the Assurance of gaining a much greater Revenue by wresting *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*: That as we shall gain nothing if the Duke of *Anjou* should be settled upon the *Spanish* Throne, so we shall export or lose at least half a Million yearly till our whole Stock is wasted: That consequently Peace on the Terms so much desir'd, would be worse than the present War by the yearly Sum of four Millions. That by such a Peace we shall lose Employment and Subsistence for one Million of Souls, or a sixth or seventh Part of our whole People:

D

And

And lastly, That we shall lose three Fourths of the annual and total Value of all our Lands. I firmly believe our Losses wou'd be greater in every Article than what I have mention'd; but these will be sufficient: and if I shall be able to prove they will be as great as I have asserted, I persuade myself there is not an honest Man in *Great Britain*, who wou'd be pleas'd to accept a Peace upon such Terms, as the *French King* has hitherto thought fit to offer it. And yet the Administration has been traduc'd and vilify'd for not accepting such a Peace.

If I have also prov'd, that the Accession of this Kingdom (*Spain*) will make a great Addition to his (the *French King's*) Riches; and if it is certain, that Mony is the very Sinews of War, as that which hastens the Levys, clothes the Soldier, fortifies the Frontier, furnishes the Magazine, and prepares the Train of Artillery; then, without doubt, the Increase of his Power is a necessary Consequence of increasing the Riches of his Kingdom.

As the giving up *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou* makes so great an Addition to the Riches and Power of the *French King*, it must consequently enable him to distress, impoverish and weaken all his Neighbours.

But to consider this Matter more particularly: By the convenient Situation of the Harbours of *Cadiz* and *Gibraltar*, he will be always able to secure a Naval Force sufficient to distress, if not to command, the Entrance into the *Mediterranean*. There is no Reason why he shou'd not chuse rather to lodge his whole Fleet at *Cadiz* than at *Toulon*. And what then shall hinder his Establishing a Toll in the Straits, as the King of *Denmark* has done within the *Sound*? and a much more grievous Toll, as he will have more Power to maintain it? If this can be done, his own Subjects only will be suffer'd to pass free: all other Nations must either submit to the Imposition, or dispute it by their Convoys; the Merchant must trade as it were in Armour; either the Toll, or the Convoy shall eat out the Profit of the Voyage. It is easy to be seen, that by such a Conduct so much of the *Mediterranean* Trade will be lost as depends upon that Passage; the two great Maritime Powers will be absolutely excluded, and the raw Silks of the *Levant* suffer'd to come no farther from Home than into the *French* Dominions.

If the *French King* can do this, If he can prohibit the Exportation of *Spanish* Wool from his own Countrys, if he can also prevent the Importation of Manufactures from the Countrys subject to the two Maritime Powers; what prodigious Numbers

bers of their Subjects must either mutiny for want of Employment, or starve for want of Bread? And will not these Potentates be distress'd by so great a Charge of Subjects upon their hands, or by the Seditions of their People?

Again, it is certain both *England* and *Holland* must part with great Quantities of Bullion, or Money, every Year for Naval Stores, and other Necessaries: and if this Loss is not to be supply'd from *Spain*, or other Countrys, (as will be shewn hereafter, if *Spain* shall be given up) then our Poverty is inevitable.

But, to make the quicker Dispatch of our Riches, *France* her self will take a great Deal off our Hands; that Prince will allow his Subjects to sell us Wines, Fashions, and Luxury, and we shall be sure to have them a great Pennyworth. Tho' it wou'd seem strange that our Gentlemen, so famous for *October* shou'd all on a sudden become so enamour'd of *French* Wines, as to desert their *English* Manufacture; that they shou'd be so eager to enrich the Vinedressers of our Enemies, and to impoverish their own Tenants: for it cannot be imagin'd that Gentlemen wou'd do this for a safer Way of holding Correspondence with *France*, and paying an annual Tribute to *St. Germans*. But 'tis needless to pursue this Argument any farther, since nothing can be more evident, than that the *French* King, by adding *Spain* to his other Dominions, must impoverish his Neighbours.

What a bright Figure then shall we make in *Europe*? What noble Efforts against the Great, the Rich, the Powerful King of *France*? What wonderful Armys shall we not be able to raise from among our own People, when they shall be destitute of all other Employment, and starving for want of Bread? It is no matter for Clothes or Pay, Arms or Ammunition; these Things we shall find among our Enemies: We shall I warrant, with the greatest Courage and Intrepidity, rush on naked against an armed Prince for the plunder of his Countrys. No certainly, we shall understand our selves a great Deal better; if we are not able to keep this Prince down when we have him under, if we shall suffer him to raise himself again upon our Ruins, we must hereafter contract our Schemes, and become humble Supplicants to his most Christian Majesty to have some Compassion of our Miserys. Doubtless, in his good Nature, he will condescend so far to our Prayers, as to grant us a Viceroy and a new Religion. And this perhaps is the Reason why some Persons are so much in haste for a Peace, and for giving *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*; they know very well we shall be re-

duc'd to all this Poverty and Weakness, and they wou'd fain have the Viceroy and the Religion upon any Terms whatsoever.

For my own part then, I shall no longer Wonder that the *Examiner*, and such other Writers, are so full of their Invectives against Trade and a Trading Interest, as if the Interest of the Nation were no way concern'd in the Preservation of Trade. As for these Men, I consider them as so many second-hand Hirelings to carry on the Interest of *France*. But 'tis wonderful to read such Things in the Writings of some of our Reverend Divines, to find them also inveighing against Trade, as if it were the Cause of all the Schisms and Heresys in the World; and recommending the old Patriarchal Ways of Cow keeping and Agriculture as more innocent Employments for the People.

Wou'd they have us increase in these Things, when we have already so much more of them than are sufficient for our People? When we abound so much in Cattle, that we will not suffer any more to be imported upon us by our Fellow Subjects? and in Corn, that we give Bountys to our Neighbours to take it off our Hands?

But are Bread and Meat the only Necessaries of Life? Are not Clothes and Manufactures as necessary to our Well-being? Or shall they who have the whole Property of the Lands make Clothes for themselves? And shall not the Rest of the People be able to buy Bread and Meat in Exchange for their Manufactures?

Or what do these Reverend Persons mean? Wou'd they have us naked, that they may clothe us? hungry, that they may feed us? Tho their Charity is very great, it can never be equal to the Wants of such Multitudes.

It is still less to be imagin'd, that they wou'd first make us poor, that they may afterwards make us Orthodox. They know very well that extreme Poverty is as great a Temptation to Sin as too much Riches; and that starving our Bodys is not the Way to save our Souls.

And 'tis yet less to be suspected that holy Men, without any secular Ends, who are separated from the World, and dedicated to God's Altar, shou'd ever intend the Impoverishment of the People, the better to assure themselves of their Subjection; that they shou'd have any Design so wicked as the establishing their own Dominion upon the Ruin of their Country.

But

But whosoever the Person is, whether of the Clergy or the Laity, of whatsoever Quality or Degree, and for whatsoever Reasons or Pretences, that shou'd go about to deprive the Nation of so great a part of their daily Bread, such a Man would surely be impeach'd of the highest Crime and Misdemeanor by the general Voice of the Kingdom. There cannot be the least fear that the common People, against whom so much Mischief is intended, wou'd be guilty of any Riot or Insurrection, to prevent the doing Justice upon such an Offender.

And 'tis yet less to be conceiv'd that Gentlemen, Ladies, and Persons of superior Quality, shou'd take Part with such a Criminal, and conspire to do him Honour; since their Sufferings will be yet greater than those of the common People by so great a Loss of Trade. Gentlemen are therefore more nearly concern'd to prevent the yielding up of *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*, whence this and all the other Consequences I have mention'd are unavoidable.

For, in the first Place, do they imagine, that by the Loss of so many Markets for our Corn, Manufactures, and other Things, their Rents will not be affected? Or is it possible they shou'd not be affected? These Things that are annually parted and sold from the Farm, are not mere Labour, but Labour mixt with the Produce of the Lands; and therefore if the Produce of the Lands shall continue still the same, and the Purchasers shall be fewer, the Rent or Value of the Estate must needs be abated.

This must make a sensible Diminution of the Rents, but by that which follows they must tumble down apace. 'Tis certain we shall be oblig'd, as is prov'd before, to issue annually great Sums of Money out of *England*; and if by giving up *Spain* we shall be disabled to import any fresh Supplies, it must follow, that in the Space of not very many Years, the whole Kingdom will be exhausted, and there will not be sufficient Money left to answer the Rents of any one Gentleman's Estate. This must needs lessen the Value of the Estate, unless it shall be affirm'd that the Produce of the Lands will remain as valuable after the Loss of all our Money, and as little burden'd to the Gentleman.

But how shou'd the Produce of the Land be as valuable without Money? Will the Barter or Exchange of Goods be as easy and commodious? Will it furnish the Gentleman with as many Conveniences of Life? The very Supposition is ridiculous, and to put it only is to expose it.

Again, after what has been said, how is it possible the Estate shou'd be as little burden'd? Only so much of the Profits of the Estate

Estate are coming to the Gentleman, as are not paid away to Publick or Parish Taxes. But if all publick Taxes shou'd cease, how much must those to the Parish be encreas'd, by such a Burden of new Poor as I have describ'd? They will have no whither to fly, but to the Lands for a Maintenance; A Million of new Poor will be hardly subsisted for less than five Pounds per Head; or the whole Number for less than five Millions per Annum; and how much less is this than ten Shillings in the Pound, or half the full Value of all the Rents in England? And 'tis probable, that more than half of what remains will be lost, with so many Markets for our Goods, and by the want of Money to facilitate our Exchanges. And if three Fourths of the Annual Value of the Estate shall be lost, the Estate must needs fall Three Fourths of the Value in the Purchase,

Gentlemen will hardly believe that so great a Fall is possible. But if they will please to consult an Excellent Book, call'd, *The Account of Denmark*, they will find there, that Estates fell three Fourths of their Value in the Purchase, and that few Purchasers were to be found even upon those Terms; and all this only by the Change of their Government, from a limited to an absolute Monarchy; or in other Words, from a Prince that was bound to govern according to Laws, to one that was not to be resisted upon any Pretence whatsoever. And if we will but put *Spain* under the Power of *France*, we too in the Space of a few Years shall be reduc'd to such Poverty and Weakness, as to change our limited for an absolute Monarchy, not the absolute Monarchy of a Prince of our own Growth, but of a *French* Man, a *Papist*, and a *Tyrant*.

I have not, Sir, been offering these Arguments to a Man of your Judgment and Penetration, as if I thought you needed to be convinc'd of the Necessity of our going on still with the War; but rather in hopes to incline you to make use of the Authority you so justly have among the Clergy, the Gentry, and the common People of your Party, to persuade them that *Spain* must be recover'd, Trade must be preserv'd, or else every one will be undone. Your Reason will suggest a Multitude of Arguments to strengthen your Authority, and yet I flatter my self that this Letter will furnish some Hints which are not improper for this Purpose.

To begin with the Clergy: I wou'd be understood only of those of your Party. If Lands shall fall Three Fourths in their Rents or yearly Value, will not the Glebe or Tithe of the Parson

son be reduc'd to the same Condition? And where is that Cleft-gyman who wou'd give such a Part of his Living for a Peace?

Universal Poverty may possibly be the Way to one Opinion in Religion: But where is that self-denying Minister of the Gospel, who wou'd give Three Fourths of his Tithes to have all his People Orthodox, to have no Heresy or Schism in his Parish?

They may perhaps imagine the same Poverty will make Way for a more absolute Dominion of the Priesthood. But which of all those Priests wou'd give the greatest Part of his Subsistence for more Power? Which of them wou'd desire to be the starving Ruler of a starving People?

If *Spain* shall be left in the Possession of the *French* King by a Peace, mere Poverty will soon bring *England* and all *Europe* under the *French* Dominion. And then will any Priest or the Church of *England* be able to live or rule in his own Parish, without changing his Religion? And is the Change to Popery so very easy?

We have seen Addresses for breaking a Parliament, that impeach'd one of that Order for preaching Principles inconsistent with our present Establishment; but wou'd not all the Clergy address for the Punishment of such a Man as shou'd dare to inflame the People by his Sermons, to the Desire of a Peace that must impose Popery and Poverty upon the Kingdom, upon the Parson as well as the whole Parish?

Perhaps they may fondly flatter themselves that the *French* King will take nothing from them, and that he will even reward them for their Service. But is any Thing more natural than for Princes, when vested with all the Power they desire, to forget the Instruments that brought them to it?

But if those of the Clergy might still be suffer'd to enjoy their Religion and Livings, and if even their Revenues and Power might be increas'd for their good Service; wou'd they be pleas'd to see Ruin and Desolation every where round about them? Wou'd they inflame their Followers to the Desire of a Peace, which must prove more destructive to them than the most cruel War? Wou'd they make use of their Authority and Interest in their several Parishes to ruin a Gentry, and a common People, who are so fondly, I had almost said blindly, devoted to them?

But certainly the Gentry cannot always be so very blind; they must needs open their Eyes at so near an Approach of their own Danger. For can it be believ'd, that together with *pain* they wou'd give away all their best Markets? or that the produce

duce of the Lands wou'd be still as valuable after the Loss of those Markets?

Wou'd Gentlemen be pleas'd to see great Sums of Money exported every Year, and no new Supplies return'd? To see a Million of poor People thrown upon their Estates, and scarce any Part of the Profits left for their own Subsistence? To see Three Parts in Four of the annual and total Value of every Estate in the Kingdom lost for ever by these Articles?

Wou'd the Gentleman who is out of Debt be able to live as well upon one fourth Part of the Estate as the whole? And he that is indebted in one fourth Part of the whole Value, be able to live as well, when the whole shall be taken from him for the Satisfaction of his Creditors?

And how wou'd all these Gentlemen, their Ladys, their Sons and Daughters, relish the parting with their present Luxury and Pleasure, for a wretched Subsistence by Parish-Alms or hard Labour?

And yet all these Things are unvoidable Consequences of yielding Spain to the Duke of Anjou.

I believe Gentlemen are weary of paying Four Shillings in the Pound to the War; but which of them wou'd not chuse to double his Taxes, rather than give his whole Estate for a Peace?

Some perhaps are not pleas'd with the Revolution, and less with the Protestant Succession, and the perpetual Breach which That has made upon the Hereditary Right of the Crown. Such perhaps may think that to wrest *Spain* from the House of *Bourbon*, is to disable *France* from imposing the Pretender upon these Kingdoms. But if the Loss of *Spain* will have such ill Consequences, what Gentleman wou'd give his Estate to have the Pretender for his King? or reduce himself to Beggary, to disappoint the House of *Hanover*?

If any one is so fond as to imagine he shall be well rewarded by *France*, and that at the least he shall make a saving Bargain for himself; yet wou'd he be so cruel to his Country? Wou'd he have no regard to those poor People that blindly follow his Authority?

But lastly, for the Common People of *England*, they have heretofore judg'd very well of their own Interest; how come they now to pin their own Faith upon the Sir *John*, the Sir *Thomas*, or the Parson of the Parish? How is it, that they are all on a sudden become the blind Followers of any Authority whatsoever?

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Wou'd the Farmers or Freeholders be pleas'd with that Gentleman, who shou'd endeavour that their Malt or Wool might be left upon their Hands? Yet this perhaps wou'd be the Consequence of importing *French* Wines, and lessening the Consumption of our Corn and Manufactures in *Portugal*; but this must needs be the Consequence of yielding *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*, and putting our whole Trade under the Power of *France*.

Greater Numbers of our *Wiltshire* People are maintain'd by making *Spanish* Cloth, than cou'd possibly be subsisted in the meanest Manner imaginable by the whole Rents of that Country. But if *Spain* shall be given up, all the *Spanish* Wool will be engros'd by *France*, and our Manufacturer must live upon the Landholder. And can it then be thought that either of them wou'd vote for such a Parliament as shou'd be careless for the Recovery of *Spain*, or give that Kingdom for a Peace?

London, *Canterbury*, *Norwich*, and other populous Cities, support very great Numbers of their People by the Manufacture of Silks. I think I have prov'd that the Loss of *Spain* will be follow'd by that of our raw Silks: and then what Numbers must be starv'd? Has not *London* alone seen an Insurrection of twenty thousand Weavers upon any sudden and temporary Scarcity of that Commodity? And what then are we to expect, when they shall all be depriv'd of it for ever?

Perhaps it may be thought we are out of Danger of any future Insurrection of the common People for their Bread, or for any other Cause, unless for the Defence of Passive Obedience and Non-Resistance. But tho they wou'd not rise for want of Bread, yet wou'd they chuse such Men for their Representatives in Parliament, as together with *Spain* wou'd abandon the Subsistence of so many People?

I think I have prov'd that our finest Manufactures employ the greatest Numbers, and that our very Poverty upon the Loss of *Spain* wou'd oblige us all to content our selves with the coarsest Sorts. And what then will become of numberless Hands that are every where employ'd in the finest Manufactures for the Consumption of our own Country? How shall half a Million be subsisted, that will be reduc'd by all these Articles?

When they shall have lost so many Markets at Home, will they still work on for those abroad? But how is this possible, when it is also prov'd that the Loss of *Spain* will be attended with the Loss of so many of our foreign Markets, and of Subsistence for half a Million of our People?

And can a sixth or seventh Part of the whole Nation be reduced to the unhappy Necessity of living upon the Rest, and will not the whole Kingdom be impoverish'd? Will not the Misery be universal? And are not all these apparent Consequences of yielding *Spain* to the Duke of *Anjou*?

What then must all Mankind think of the *Examiner* and his Friends, who wou'd have us buy our Peace upon these Terms? What else can our Clergy, our Gentry, our common People think of such a Wretch, than that he is in the Interest of the Enemy?

But if such are the Consequences of the Peace which is recommended to us, who will not be for going on with the War? If the Loss of *Spain* will cause such universal Ruin, what Man is there, from the Lord to the Peasant, that wou'd not excise a fourth or fifth Part of his Subsistence to recover it? Who wou'd not pay a fourth or fifth Part of the Price of all he eats, or drinks, or wears, towards carrying on the War, rather than a bad Peace shou'd leave him neither Bread, nor Meat, nor Clothes, but at the Mercy of *France*?

But I forget what I am doing: An earnest Concern for the universal Safety and Welfare of my whole Country, has drawn me to exceed the Bounds of a Letter. It is time now to conclude, and to assure you that I am, &c.

The PROTEST of the LORDS, &c.

Die Sabbati 7. Jun. 1712.

THe House was moved, that these Words might be added at the Close of the Motion for an Address upon Her Majesty's Speech, (*viz.*)

And in Order to that, to pray Her Majesty to take such Measures in concert with her Allies, as may induce them to joyn with Her Majesty in a Mutual Guaranty.

After Debate,

The Question was put, Whether those Words should be added?

It was resolved in the Negative.

Dis.

Dissentient

We think it necessary to have the Security proposed of a General Guaranty, and the rather, because We conceive the Terms of Peace that are offered, have proceeded from a separate Negotiation, carried on by the Ministers with *France*, without any Communication thereof to the Principal Allies, particularly the States General, as they say in their Letter to Her Majesty, (whose Interest Her Majesty was pleased to declare to this Parliament, She look'd upon as inseparable from own) and we conceive this Negotiation to be contrary to those Orders which Her Majesty declared to this House, in Answer to their Address, that she had given to Her Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht*, to concert with those of Her Allies; And the Resolution expressed in her Message *January 17.* of a strict Union, in which She proposed to joyn with them in Order to obtain a good Peace, and to Guaranty and Support the same, as She had before declared in Her Speech at the Opening of this Session, that She would unite with them in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance, in order to render the general Peace Secure and Lasting; and contrary to the Eighth Article of the grand Alliance, which expressly obliges all the Allies not to Treat, unless joyntly and with the Common Advice of the other Parties.

And we conceive that the refusal of these Words proposed to be added, may be look'd upon by the Allies, as if this House approved this Method of Transacting with *France*, which may seem to them to tend to a separate Peace, of which Her Majesty has declared her Dislike, and which was acknowledged in this House to be foolish, and knavish, and would be of pernicious Consequence to this Kingdom, by preventing that Guaranty of Peace by the Allies, which is so absolutely necessary for their mutual Security, and leave us exposed to the Power of *France*, there being little Reason to expect their future Help after such a gross Breach of Trust.

And we further conceive, that such a separate proceeding may create in the Allies so great a Distrust, as may tempt them to take the like Measures, and so give the *French* Opportunity to break that Union, which has hitherto been so useful to Us, and formidable to Them; any Appearance whereof must encourage *France*, either to delay the Conclusion of a Peace, or to Impose upon the Allies in the further Progrès of the Treaty.

A perfect Union among the Allies seems to Us to be more necessary in the present Case; Because the Foundation upon which all the Offers of *France* relating to *Great-Britain* as well

as to the Allies are built ; (*viz.*) A Renunciation of the Duke of *Anjou* to that Kingdom, is, in our Opinion, so fallacious, that no reasonable Man, much less who's Nations, can ever look upon it as any Security. Experience may sufficiently convince Us how little we ought to rely upon the Renunciation of the House of *Bourbon*; and tho' the present Duke of *Anjou* should happen to think himself bound by his own Act, which his Grandfather did not, yet will his Descendants be at liberty to say, that no Act of his could deprive them of their Birthright, and especially when it is such a Right, as in the Opinion of all *French-Men*, ought inviolably to be maintain'd by the fundamental Constitution of the Kingdom of *France*.

And we humbly think it unsafe to depend upon this principal Part of the Treaty's Executing it self, by supposing it will be the Interest of *France* to support it; since on the contrary, it is manifest by the *French* Endeavours ever since the *Pyrenean Treaty*, to Unite the Monarchies of *France* and *Spain*. They look upon that Union to be their greatest Interest, and the most effectual means of Establishing the Universal Monarchy in the House of *Bourbon*,

And if it were Reasonable to imagine, that the Two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* should remain in distinct Branches of the House of *Bourbon*; Yet this is contrary to the Grand Alliance it self, which recites the Usurpation of the *Spanish* Monarchy by the *French* King for the Duke of *Anjou*, as the principal Cause of this War.

As to Port *Mahon*, *Gibraltar*, the *Assiento*, and the other Advantages to *Britain* proposed by *France* (besides that they are all Precarious, and in the Power of *France* and *Spain* to take from us when they please) considering the Situation of those Kingdoms, and the Vast Wealth and Strength which will be left to them, we conceive it impossible for any Man to look on these as a Compensation to *Britain* in any Degree ; for the leaving *Spain* and the *Indies* in the Possession of the House of *Bourbon*, besides other manifestly fatal Consequences, must be extremely Prejudicial to our Woollen Manufacture, if it does not entirely ruin it.

As to the Demolition of *Dunkirk*, tho' we own it will be a great Safety to our Home Trade, yet we have Reason to apprehend by what was said in the Debate, that it is not yet agreed to be Demolish'd, without an Equivalent for it to the *French* King's Satisfaction.

And in all the Particulars relating to the Allies, tho' they are not perfectly adjusted, yet by what does appear concerning them,

them, the Allies are likely to be left in such a State of Insecurity, as is absolutely inconsistent with our own Safety.

The *Rhine* is propos'd for a Barrier of the Empire, which leaves *Strasburg* and *Hunninghen* in the Hands of the *French*; the former of which has always been look'd upon as the Key of the Empire.

The Proposals of *France* relating to the Barrier for the *States General*, not only deprives them of all the Places taken since the Year 1709, but also of two or three Places more included in the Demand made by the *States* in that Year, which will render their Barrier wholly insufficient, and consequently very much Weaken the Security of *Britain*.

Portugal seems to be wholly abandoned to the Power of *Spain*, notwithstanding the great Advantages we have receiv'd during this War by our Trade with that Kingdom, which might still be extremely beneficial to us.

Upon the whole, there is so very little and inconsiderable a difference between these Offers of *France*, and those made at *Utrecht Febr. 11. N.S.* and sign'd *Huxelles* (as appears to us upon comparing them together) that both seem to be the Effect of a secret and particular Negotiation with *France*, and this House having unanimously concurred in Expressing to her Majesty their utmost Resentment at those Terms offer'd to her Majesty and Her Allies by the Plenipotentiaries of *France*, and Her Majesty having graciously accepted that our Address, and rewarded that Duty and Zeal with Her hearty Thanks, we cannot in Respect to Her Majesty, or Justice to our Country, retract that Opinion, nor think the Terms now good for Us or the Allies, or give any seeming Approbation of them, which then were receiv'd by this House, and all the Allies, with Scorn and Detestation.

For these Reasons, we are of Opinion that the Offers of *France* are Fallacious and Insinuating, no Way proportioned to the Advantages which Her Majesty (from the great Successes which it has pleased God to bless her and her Allies during the whole Course of this War) might justly expect for her own Kingdoms and for them, very unsufficient for preserving a Ballance of Power in *Europe* for the future Security of her Majesty and her Allies, tho' they should be never so exactly perform'd, and yet, even such as they are, there is no effectual Security Offer'd for the Performance of them, which makes it absolutely necessary, as we conceive, that such Measures should be taken, in concert with the Allies, as may induce them to join with Her Majesty in a Mutual Guaranty.

POST-

POSTSCRIPT.

IN the foregoing I have observed, That had it not been for the Extra Services, (such as building Men of War lost in the great Storm, Bounty-Money to Widows, Orphans, &c.) the Exceedings of the Debts of the Navy, &c. would have amounted but to 5474 *l.* 13, 11, 4-1. And that including such Extra Services (for which no Provision was made by Parliament) the Exceedings were not 300000 *per Annum*, the first eight Years of her Majesty's Reign, and yet for the Year 1711 the Exceeding on the Head of the Navy only above 600000 *l.*

As I could not but think this necessary to repeat, because the Parliament of which Mr. *Bromley* was Speaker, in the first Session, 1710-11. did declare, That the Exceeding the Parliamentary Provision was a new and illegal Practice, and a dangerous Invasion of the Rights of Parliament; so it is likewise necessary to take Notice, that of the 35 Millions voted to be unaccounted for, Accounts had been then duly render'd for all but four Millions.

But here may be seen a true Specimen of the Candour and Justice of this House of Commons: The two Uses that were to be made of this Vote were, to raise a Clamour in the Country, and to come at a Censure of the late Earl of *Godolphin*, whom they voted guilty of a most notorious Breach of Trust, and high Injustice to the Nation, for not compelling the respective Accomptants to pass their Accounts. If he was guilty, it must be by sending Orders or Warrants to the Deputy Remembrancer to stay Process. This the House of Commons was sensible of, and therefore in order to have the whole Matter before them, on *Thursday* the 26th of *April*, 1711. they order'd the Deputy Remembrancer to lay before the House what Orders he had receiv'd for paying or issuing Process against Accomptants. On *Tuesday* following, the Deputy Remembrancer presents the said Orders and Warrants; but our worthy Patriots, impatient of Delay, on *Saturday* the 28th of *April* resum'd the Consideration of this Affair, and proceeded to judge and censure, before the only Evidence which could set this Matter in a clear Light was before them; which they themselves had called for, and
which

which prov'd a full Justification of the Persons, whom they thought it necessary first to hang and then to try.

The Money given by Parliament the first eight Years of her late Majesty's Reign, amounted to 42754020 *l.* 6, 4-3. and the last four (three of them at least pacific) Years to 19564182 *l.* 10, 5, 4-1. (besides which his Majesty tells us, That he was surpris'd to observe the Debts of the Nation very much encreas'd since the Conclusion of the late War.) How these Sums were apply'd, and by which Set of her Majesty's Ministers most to the Honour and Interest of *Great-Britain*, &c. take in the following Words from the City Address.

“ Permit us, most Gracious Sovereign, with the profoundest Humility and Submission, to say,
 “ We always thought the Preservation of the Trade
 “ of the Kingdom, and the Ballance of Power
 “ in *Europe*, to be the main Motives for the War. A
 “ Cause so just was favour'd by Heaven ; and the Arms
 “ and Virtue of the Troops of *Britain*, with those of
 “ her Confederates, prevail'd with such a Train of un-
 “ parallel'd Successes, that we concluded our selves upon
 “ the Point of being happy to the utmost of our Wishes.
 “ But when we were just seizing the Prize of our
 “ Conquests, with Horror we call to mind, That the
 “ *British* Arms were surprizingly withdrawn, and our
 “ faithful Allies abandon'd----- Sad were the Consequences that ensu'd !

“ The Reputation of the Kingdom was sunk to Contempt, the humble Stile of the Enemy was quite altered, and *France*, from being in a Condition of suing for a Peace, became the Dictator of it to those that had conquered : The People were mocked with Assurances of being free from the Danger of a neighbouring Fortress, and the best Branches of their Trade were exchange'd for Chimera's.

“ Our Holy Church too was in Danger of being given up to Popery, our Civil Rights to Tyranny, and the Way preparing for the Pretender.

“ All that had been gain'd by a Profusion of Blood
“ and Treasure in a glorious and successful War, was
“ thrown up, and a free-born People brought within
“ View of Slavery, when the Almighty once more in-
“ terposed, by seating on the Throne your Sacred Ma-
“ jesty, his great Vicegerent.



FINIS.

